

# PATTERNS OF NATION-STATE AND CULTURE IN THE ATLANTIC WORLD

Part 2b

# NATION-STATE BUILDING IN ANGLO-AMERICA, 1783-1900

## NATION-STATE BUILDING IN ANGLO-AMERICA

- 1783 → United States and Great Britain were free to pursue their versions of constitutional nation-state development
- United States not effected by old/new monarchies, ethnolinguistic movements which complicated nation-state formation in central Europe
  - Gave rise to a long tradition among American historians of claiming American exceptionalism → Alexis de Tocqueville
- Growth of the United States in 19<sup>th</sup> century followed its own trajectory
  - No question that the underlying of pattern of modern nation-state formation was not unlike that of France and Great Britain



# NATIONAL EXPANSION AND REFORM, 1815-1860



Painted by Emanuel Delisle 1862



# POST-REVOLUTIONARY AMERICA

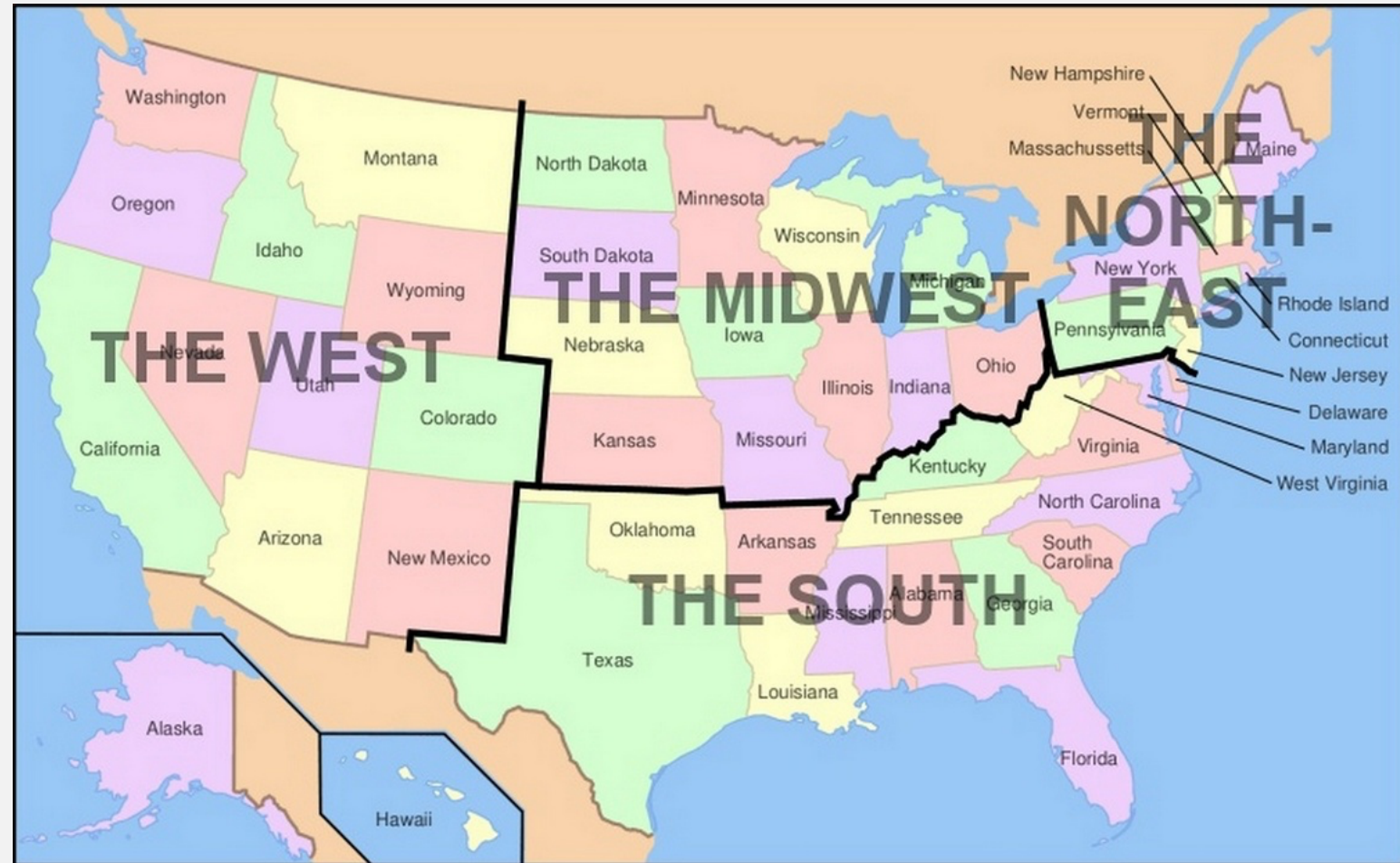
- Understand the men and women who created America's reform tradition → look at political heritage left to them
  - Conveyance of social responsibility from one generation to another
- American Revolution → social and political rupture that clouded the future for young Americans
  - Faced a new way of life in a new nation
- Attachment within the generation that inherited the Revolution weakened traditional loyalties
  - Also held out the promise of creating a new political will → extend across the continent
  - A “national spirit is the natural result of national existence; and although some of the present generation may feel colonial oppositions of opinion, that generation will die away, and give place to a race of Americans”
    - Gouverneur Morris, Revolutionary leader and Founding Father from New York

# POST-REVOLUTIONARY AMERICA

- Fighting a way for independence had not unified Americans
  - Created a problem of unity → an imperative to hang together once the actual fighting ended and peace had been secured
  - States were held together by a loose confederation
  - Much of the land Americans claimed still remained part of the ancestral domain of American Indians
- Commonalities that did exist among the states pointed in the wrong direction → to the past where they were still part of the British Empire
  - Language
  - Law
  - Institutional history

# POST-REVOLUTIONARY AMERICA

- Declaration of Independence → charged statements about equality, unalienable rights
  - Proved far more divisive than unifying → flagrant contradiction between slavery and the principle of equality
- First emancipation movement → successive northern states abolished slavery at end of 18<sup>th</sup> century
- Result → Mason-Dixon boundary between Maryland and Pennsylvania became the symbolic division between freedom and slavery
  - Ominous development at a time when Americans were working to strengthen their union



# POST-REVOLUTIONARY AMERICA

- Constitution → created a national government, new responsibility of being an American citizen
- Most of those who served in Washington's Presidential administration were social conservatives
  - Believed that the world was divided between the talented few and the ordinary many
  - Endorsed individual freedom, equality before the law BUT believed that members of the upper class should govern → restricted common man (white, 21 years old or older, landowner) to voting
- Thomas Jefferson organized an opposition based on issues of popular participation, free speech, equal opportunity
  - Jefferson's Presidential victory in 1800 → opened the way for the next generation to fashion the world's first Liberal society



# POST-REVOLUTIONARY AMERICA

- Embrace of personal liberty as a defining feature of American politics → concrete grounds for the hope that slavery would end
  - Number of free blacks led the formation of African American communities
- After the Revolution, whites and blacks mingled in almost every environment
  - Churches, shops, on the frontier, in the cities of the Upper South and the North
  - Racial prejudice persisted
  - African Americans figured on the margins of political life
- Existence of slavery continued to exacerbate sectional tensions

# AMERICAN EXCEPTIONALISM

- View among Europeans of “American exceptionalism”
  - “The characteristic difference between your revolution and ours, is that having nothing to destroy, you had nothing to injure, and labouring for a people, few in number, incorrupted, and extended over a large tract of country, you have avoided all the inconvenience of a situation, contrary in every respect. Every step in your revolution was perhaps the effect of virtue, while ours are often faults, and sometimes crimes.” -Comtesse d’Houdetot to Thomas Jefferson
  - “The position of the Americans is therefore quite exceptional, and it may be believed that no democratic people will ever be placed in a similar one. Their strictly Puritanical origin, their exclusively commercial habits, even the country they inhabit. . .” – Alexis de Tocqueville in *Democracy in America*
- View of the United States as exceptional was echoed among reform-minded Europeans
  - “They are the hope of the human race, they may well become its model.” – Anne Robert Turgot
  - Denis Diderot proclaimed the new United States an asylum from fanaticism and tyranny “for all the peoples of Europe”

# AMERICAN EXCEPTIONALISM

- New nation appeared exceptional to Europeans because, in their view, its healthy, young, hard-working population had won a revolutionary prize
  - What was seen as an empty continent upon which to settle its free-born progeny
  - Familiar predators of ordinary folk – extorting tax collector, overbearing nobleman, extravagant ruler – had failed to make the voyage across the Atlantic
- Natural abundance, tolerance, exemption from Old World social evils → among the materials from which the European reform imagination created the exceptional United States
  - View ignored new nation's reliance on slavery, displacement of indigenous people

# AMERICAN EXCEPTIONALISM

- America's ordinary citizens took up this view → celebrated what was distinctively American
  - Institutional innovations, leveling spirit, expanded opportunities for common people
  - Idea played to their strengths
  - Established a reciprocity between American abundance and high moral purpose
- Westward expansion → movement for spreading democratic institutions across the continent
  - American exceptionalism infused the independence and hardiness of American farming families with civic value → generated patriotic images that could resonate widely
- Concept of American exceptionalism freed the common people from the elite's embrace of European gentility
  - Gentility → one had to accept the cultural domination of Europe
  - Ordinary Americans → country's greatness emerged in a lustier set of ideals → open opportunity, an unfettered spirit of inquiry, destruction of privilege, personal independence



# AMERICAN EXCEPTIONALISM

- 19<sup>th</sup> century → ordinary Americans ignored the insignificance of their country on the world stage
  - Propelled their republic into the march of progress → resonant new idea in Western culture
- Three themes of American exceptionalism came into play
  - The clean slate with its implicit rejection of the past
  - The autonomy of the individual with its accompanying disparagement of dependency
  - The commitment to natural rights with the corollary that democratic government could best protect them

# AMERICAN EXCEPTIONALISM

- Metaphor of a clean slate
  - Helped create the illusion of a frontier emptied of human inhabitants → a virginal continent
  - Ignored conflicts with indigenous people that resulted from westward expansion
- Autonomous man
  - Enjoyed the freedom to be the designer of his and his family's life unaided or impeded by others
- Commitment to natural rights
  - Republic drew its worth from protecting individual rights
  - Did not address the limits that existed for women or people of color

# AMERICAN EXCEPTIONALISM

- Idea of being exceptional didn't really become the core of national identity until those who fought for independence and wrote the Constitution had retired from public life
  - Jefferson, Madison, and Monroe gave way to John Quincy Adams and Andrew Jackson
- New generation of Americans took possession of their legacy → wrapped their imagination around the idea of a special role in world history for their nation
  - Tensions between the ideal and reality generated reform movements that flourished
  - Activists became agents of change in an era of change
- Era of change brought about by convergence of political revolutions, intellectual ferment, and social turbulence

# COMMERCIAL EXPANSION

- During these same years, America entered into a period of commercial expansion
  - Promoted the construction of roads, extension of postal services, founding of newspapers in country towns
- Dense new communication network amplified resonance of partisan disputes
  - Control over information, opinions once exercised exclusively by an elite had been wrested away by the articulate critics of that elite
- Strong consensus quickly formed that American democracy required a broad base of educated people
  - Literacy became widespread for both men and women → promoted by religious and commercial demands
- Reading became a necessity
  - Met by a thriving print culture
- European visitors expressed astonishment that those who lived in rural areas were as well informed as city dwellers



# COMMERCIAL EXPANSION

- Land lured men and women westward
  - By 1810 → 1/3 of the American population lived in a new settlement
  - Conclusion of War of 1812 → added another push towards the frontier as soldiers were paid in land bounties
  - Gave ordinary men a chance to capitalize their family's labor
- All this movement thrust the nation into sustained warfare against the native inhabitants

# COMMERCIAL EXPANSION

- Urbanization grew as quickly
  - Population in older cities more than doubled, though  $\frac{3}{4}$  of American still lived on farms or rural towns
- Within a decade of the War of 1812, merchants, freed from British restrictions, sent ships across the Pacific and into the Indian Ocean
  - Baltimore → fastest growing city in the United States; benefited from access to Atlantic and hinterland for raw materials
- Men and women sought a change from farm work in the hundreds of factories that sprang up along the waterways of Maine, Massachusetts, New Hampshire, and Connecticut
  - Enterprise moved out to the countryside, down the social ladder
  - A market emerged that matched the nation's geographic and public reach

# COMMERCIAL EXPANSION

- Antebellum (pre-Civil War period of American history) economic growth undulated through boom and bust cycles
  - Busts → remembered as the Panics of 1819, 1837, and 1857
  - Booms → primarily created by European demand for cotton; also discovery of gold in newly-acquired California in 1848
- Cotton → tied the American economy to slavery at the same time that the first emancipation movement created the division between free and slave states
  - Profits from cotton coursed through the whole American economy
  - Southern specialization → plantation owners looked north for wood products, tools, some foodstuffs; imported luxury items from Europe

# COMMERCIAL EXPANSION

- Northern states → used their impressive communications network to spread their values
- Southern states → began to perceive themselves standing against the nation
  - Planter elite drew closer to one another through shared political goals, intense sociability
  - Enslaved men and women (30-60% of each slave state's population) → formed ties with slaves on neighboring plantations
  - Poorer whites clustered in the small communities of the hill country
- The Bill of Rights and the steady, if slow, expansion of the suffrage for white men and a few free black men kept the democratic torch burning



# EARLY AMERICAN RELIGION

- Disestablishment of colonial churches
  - Between 1786 and 1833 → Virginia, Vermont, New Hampshire, Connecticut, and Massachusetts replaced their established churches with religion freedom
  - Leaders opted to disentangle religious and political institutions
- Move particularly benefitted Baptists and Methodists → fastest-growing denominations in the nation
  - Neither had enjoyed state support
  - Both had suffered discrimination from the established churches

# EARLY AMERICAN RELIGION

- Majority of Americans were at least nominally Christian
  - Many lived without places of worship, especially those on the frontier
- Paying for clergy, church buildings, and seminaries now depended upon voluntary contributions
  - Without state support, many churches struggled to survive
- Separation of church and state actually strengthened religion in America
  - Permitted a hundred spiritual flowers to bloom
  - Ministers began experimenting with new methods designed explicitly to revive Christianity in America

# EARLY AMERICAN RELIGION

- Early 1800s → revivals passed in waves over the country's villages, towns, and cities
  - Could be scheduled or impromptu
  - Held in church buildings or out in the open at great camp meetings
  - Charismatic preachers exhorted the faithful to confess their sins, accept the grace extended to them through Christ
- To be born again became the core religious experience
  - Some churches continued to accept the Calvinist doctrine of predestination
  - An increasing number believed that good works contributed to a Christian's claim on Heaven

# EARLY AMERICAN RELIGION

- Revivals transformed American culture, the nature of Protestant Christianity in the United States
  - Ministers packed their Bibles in their saddle bags and set off in search of souls
  - Preachers encouraged personal commitments that went beyond conventional service attendance
- Critics within America's older churches – Lutheran, Dutch Reformed, Congregational, Presbyterian, and Episcopal – found much to find fault within this new movement
  - Considered its theology shallow
  - Disliked what they saw as manipulative appeals to the emotions
- Evangelists were extremely popular



# EARLY AMERICAN RELIGION

- New denominations educated members in democratic practices as well
  - Formation of new churches required volunteers to raise funds, build organizations, and participate in decision-making
  - Women, blacks, and the poor, often excluded from voting, learned about democratic governance in their churches
- Zeal generated by the revivals fueled an extensive missionary movement
  - Within the United States among the American Indian tribes
  - Abroad → young missionaries sent to Asia
- Religious fraternities/organizations
  - Exerted pressure on storekeepers to show respect for the Sabbath

# EARLY AMERICAN MORALITY

- Foreign observers saw the novelty of a society directed almost entirely by the ambitious dreams that had been unleashed by their exceptional situation
- In all this mobility lay the seeds of many social problems Evangelicals addressed
- Decline of traditional ordering mechanisms → led to deteriorating standards of personal behavior
  - In 1820, Americans fifteen years and older drank more liquor than ever before or since
  - Artisans in most shops took a whiskey break every morning and afternoon
  - Children could easily encounter alcoholic teachers
  - Heavy public drinking punctuated most public celebrations
  - Gambling and ritualized violence figured prominently into public life
  - Mobs formed easily

# EARLY AMERICAN MORALITY

- American Temperance Society
  - Launched in 1826 by Lyman Beecher
  - Shifted the focus from the hopeless drunkard to the social drinker
  - Made abstinence, not moderation, the goal
  - Swept up Methodists and Baptists who had long deplored pervasive drinking
  - Beecher's temperance tracts reached 100,000 readers at a time → biggest newspaper in the country had a circulation of 4,500
- Washington Temperance Society
  - Launched in 1840s by working-class men in Baltimore
  - Gained a membership of 500,000 in three years
  - Campaigned to secure local-option prohibition laws
  - Claimed that they had liberated themselves from a tyranny worse than Britain's

# EARLY AMERICAN MORALITY

- Changes in American drinking habits came swiftly
  - Consumption was cut in half between 1835 and 1845
  - Campaign to make the sale of alcoholic beverages illegal persisted through the century

## EARLY AMERICAN RELIGIOUS TOLERATION

- Many Catholic immigrated to the United States during the Irish potato famines of the 1840s and 1850s
  - Less censorious about drinking
  - Drew the ire of temperance leaders
  - Suffered persecution from nativist groups who feared and defamed their religion → The Know Nothing Party; No Irish Need Apply
- Joined by emigrating Germans, the Catholic soon built their own churches parochial schools, and seminaries
- John Hughes → appointed Archbishop of New York in 1842
  - Forceful champion
  - Publicly exposed every insult and injury that Catholics sustained
- Americans slowly came to realize that their respect for religious freedom meant more than tolerating diversity within the Protestant fold

# EARLY AMERICAN REFORM CAUSES

- Two most significant reform causes of the antebellum period
  - End of slavery
  - Full citizenship for women
- In the afterglow of the Revolution, anti-slavery societies agitated for change
  - State legislatures, including Virginia's, debated schemes for emancipation
  - 1807 → Act Prohibiting Importation of Slaves
- Free African Americans were particularly active in keeping the issue alive
  - Petitions to legislatures, legal suits, pamphlets, newspapers
  - Particularly eager to undermine colonization societies, which attempted to solve the problem of racial prejudice by sending freed slaves to Africa
- The Quakers helped establish the Underground Railroad
- Fear of slave revolts, particularly after the successful one in Haiti, haunted white southerners
  - 1820 census → slave population had almost doubled in twenty years

# EARLY AMERICAN REFORM CAUSES

- Increasing profitability of cotton gradually stilled anti-slavery voices in the South
  - Took some dramatic developments to stir much concern about southern slavery in the North
- Missouri applied for admission to the Union as a slave state
  - New York Congressman James Talmadge tried to tack on a gradual emancipation provision to the enabling act
- Missouri Compromise of 1820
  - Missouri came in as a slave state
  - Promise of no further extension of slavery
  - Pushed the problem off to an uncertain future
  - Energized some new opponents to slavery



# EARLY AMERICAN REFORM CAUSES

- Congress was intent on containing, not enflaming, the conflict over slavery
  - Adopted a gag rule to prevent anti-slavery petitions from being read
  - Gag rule rankled until abolitionists were able to persuade Congress to change it
- Not until the new Republican Party in 1854 articulated its opposition to any extension of slavery into the western territories did anti-slavery northerners find a unifying, rallying position



## EARLY AMERICAN POWDER KEG

- Defending slavery through the decades placed the southern states in opposition to the experimental thrust of northern life
  - Northerners and southerners construed their differences as implicit challenges to one another
- Emancipation had given those in the North a deceptive sense of their political convictions
  - Opening up of opportunities to move, to innovate, to express personal opinions defined for many what it meant to be an American
  - In making the ideal American a restless, ingenious, and accomplishment-centered person, northerners characterized the nation in a way that made southern differences ever more apparent
- Over time southern states coalesced as the South
  - Separate society from that of the rest of the nation
  - Leaders no longer apologized for slavery as they had in the Revolutionary era → defended it as the basis of a truly genteel, American civilization

# EARLY AMERICAN POWDER KEG

- Conflict became inevitable when northern voters rallied around Abraham Lincoln in the presidential election of 1860
- Supported the Republican Party's adamant opposition to the extension of slavery







## THE FAILURE OF COMPROMISE

# THE FAILURE OF COMPROMISE

- Spring, 1861 → The United States of America split into two hostile countries
  - The United States of America
  - The Confederate States of America
- Two opposing heads of state agreed about what was causing the rupture → long-running dispute concerning slavery and its status in federal territories
  - Abraham Lincoln: “One section of our country believes slavery is right, and out to be extended, while the other believes it is wrong, and ought not to be extended. This is the only substantial dispute.”
  - Jefferson Davis: He and his colleagues had left the Union because Lincoln’s party had pledged to exclude “the labor of African slaves” from “the public domain” of the territories . . . Slavery “was and is indispensable” to the South’s society

# THE FAILURE OF COMPROMISE

- Of the more than twelve million souls who resided in the southern states in 1860, nearly 1/3 was enslaved
- As commodities that could be freely bought and sold, their bodies were worth approximately three billion dollars
  - A sum greater than all the farmland in all of the South
  - Three times greater than the construction costs of all the railroads then running throughout all of the United States
- Even more important was the labor that those four million people performed
  - Yielded more than half of all the South's tobacco
  - Yielded almost all of its sugar, rice, and hemp
  - Yielded 90% of its cotton
- Southern leaders were sure that only slave laborers would work hard enough and cheaply enough to yield the immense profits that slaveholders expected

# THE FAILURE OF COMPROMISE

- Slaveholders' attachment to slavery went deeper than economic considerations
  - "Peculiar institution" was the unique basis of the particular outlook, assumptions, norms, habits, and relationships that defined their world
  - Had become deeply and reflexively attached
- In the North, as in the South, economic and social development shaped the population
  - Cultural, intellectual, political lives and values
  - Embraced an economy based on free labor
  - Came to view the ownership of one human being by another as economically backward, morally repugnant, and politically antidemocratic



# THE FAILURE OF COMPROMISE

- This basic difference gave rise to a protracted conflict that waxed and waned in intensity between the Revolution and the Civil War
- Supporters and opponents of slavery both believed that the institution needed to spread in order to survive
  - Slave-based agriculture was intensive and exhausted the soil quickly → constantly required additional lands
- As large portions of the US moved westward, only the creation of new slave state could sustain the slaveholders' political power in Congress and the Electoral College
  - Allowing the territories, and states carved out of them, to banish slavery would provide slaves contemplating escape new sanctuaries
- Opponents of slavery thought it equally urgent to bar that institution from the West
  - Northern farmers, urban dwellers wanted to migrate to the West without dwelling among slaves, competing with cheap slave labor, or being governed by slave-owning politicians
  - Did not relish the idea of increasing slaveholders' already outsized political power in the federal government
- Preventing slavery from expanding → opponents hoped to see it choke to death where already existed



# THE FAILURE OF COMPROMISE

- Dispute repeatedly erupted into major political crises
- Attempts to defuse the crises with legislative deals that offered something to both sides
  - Two most important deals:
    - Missouri Compromise
    - The Compromise of 1850
- We have already reviewed the Missouri Compromise → please look back on those notes from the Louisiana Purchase

# THE FAILURE OF COMPROMISE

## Growth of the United States 1783-1853



- War with Mexico between 1846 and 1848 led to a second great compromise over slavery
  - By the terms of the treaty that ended the war, the US acquired more than half a million square miles of land
- Pennsylvania Democrat Representative David Wilmot anticipated such an outcome
  - Summer, 1846 → Introduced a measure declaring that “neither slavery nor involuntary servitude shall exist in any part” of any land seized during the war
  - Passed by the House but not the Senate

# THE FAILURE OF COMPROMISE

- Congressional conflict ended in a compromise embodied in a number of resolutions
  - California was accepted into the Union able to decide for itself on the issue of slavery → soon outlawed it
  - Organized the rest of the new land into two territories – New Mexico and Utah – without addressing the status of slavery → popular sovereignty → both territorial governments legalized slavery
  - Forbade using the District of Columbia any longer as a regional slave market → crime to bring any additional slaves into the District for purpose of selling, delivering them elsewhere
  - To mollify slaveholders → empowered federal marshals to pursue runaway slaves into free states, established a body of special federal commissioners to preside over all such cases, denied jury trials to accused
- Many political leaders cheered both the Missouri Compromise and the Compromise of 1850 as resolutions of the slavery conflict
  - Each did, temporarily, formally decide the specific question in contention
  - Neither resolved the fundamental, underlying dispute over slavery

# THE FAILURE OF COMPROMISE

- Both 1820 and 1850 → compromise advocates had found it impossible to pass the measures they offered in a single bill
  - Too many northern congressmen objected to concessions being made to the South
  - Too many southern congressmen felt the same way about concessions offered to the north
- Single compromise bills were broken up in to several measures
  - Each could be voted upon and passed by distinct, shifting majorities
- In both the North and South many who disliked all or part of the compromise packages agreed to abide by them for the sake of maintaining national peace
  - Opposing sentiments ultimately undermined both compromises

# THE FAILURE OF COMPROMISE

- Anti-slavery forces attempted to render the new fugitive slave law unenforceable
- Southerners who liked the new “popular sovereignty” doctrine used it to over turn the Missouri Compromise
  - 1854 → Democratic Senator Stephen A. Douglas of Illinois introduced a bill into Congress to facilitate the political organization of the Nebraska territory
- Douglas’ bill declared the Missouri Compromise null and void
  - Divided Nebraska into two territories → Nebraska in the north and Kansas to the south
  - Settlers would decide the legal status of slavery in each via popular sovereignty
- Repeal of the Missouri Compromise triggered a huge political backlash in the free states that ultimately gave rise to a new political party → the Republican Party
  - Pledged to exclude slavery from all federal territories
- “Bleeding Kansas” → guerilla war erupted between pro- and anti-slavery settlers
  - Received support from others in the North and South

# THE FAILURE OF COMPROMISE

- 1857 → Supreme Court dominated by southerners and pro-southern Democrats sought to resolve the conflict over slavery in the territories in a two-pronged ruling → *Dred Scott* case
  - Declared that a slaveholder could carry human property into free territories and even free states and hold such people there for an unspecified period of time without losing claim to them
  - Court also ruled that neither Congress nor territorial governments had the constitutional power to outlaw slavery in any federal territory
- Decision further inflamed anti-slavery in the North and brought additional support to the Republican party

# THE FAILURE OF COMPROMISE

- By 1860, most northern voters had lost confidence in legislative compromise over slavery
  - Cast their ballots for presidential candidate Abraham Lincoln → had pledged to outlaw slavery throughout the territories
- Lincoln's election convinced South Carolina's leaders that slavery had no future in the United States
  - Voted the state out of the United States in December, 1860
  - Exhorted the rest of the slave states to follow suit
- Call went up for a compromise that would turn back the secession tide
  - Offered solutions called for mollifying the South by allowing slavery to expand into some of the federal territories
- Lincoln was prepared to make some concessions to avert disunion, but he refused to abandon the core of the Republican platform
  - If the North gave into blackmail, Lincoln warned that the South would “repeat the experiment upon us” whenever they wish

# THE FAILURE OF COMPROMISE

- Republican Party's rank and file agreed with Lincoln's stand → no expansion of slavery into the territories
- In short order the rest of the states of the lower South cotton kingdom declared themselves out of the Union
  - Georgia, Mississippi, Alabama, Texas, Louisiana, and Florida
- Departure of the lower South and the Republicans' refusal to back away from their program strengthened secession sentiment in four of the eight slave states still in the Union
  - Virginia, North Carolina, Tennessee, and Arkansas
- Virginia planter Robert E Scott, once a unionist, now warned that the secession of seven slave states had "given to the non-slaveholding States such a preponderance in the Federal Government over the remaining slaveholding States as to make it incompatible with the safety of the latter to remain permanently associated with them under the present constitution . . . The free States would control the government while the remaining slave states will be reduced to the condition of humble subordinates."



# THE FAILURE OF COMPROMISE

- Leaders of all four of those slave states in the upper South demanded that Lincoln repudiate his party's program or risk additional secessions
  - Also warned that any use of force by the federal government to prevent the Union's dissolution would propel them into the arms of their sister slaveholding states in the Confederacy
- Lincoln rejected their ultimatums
- April 12, 1861 → Confederacy fired upon and forced the surrender of Fort Sumter in Charleston harbor
  - Lincoln called on the states to send 75,000 volunteers to put down the armed rebellion against the government
  - Virginia, Arkansas, Tennessee, and North Carolina refused → joined the confederacy
  - Four other slave states – called Border States – remained loyal to the Union (Maryland, Delaware, Kentucky, Missouri)
- End of the era of compromise → era of civil war had begun

